1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

618 423 not hold in common any significant amount of corporate land which could function as a source of unity by necessitating organization to administer such lands. Such *tsu* organization might easily tend to extend to other phases of *tsu* relationships and so possibly act as an additional unifying factor. On the other hand, Freedman (1958:63–76) 618 423 points out that on the mainland large *tsu* holdings have often been controlled by the wealthier members of the group, which sometimes results 578 in conflict rather than unity. But again, as Hsu (1949:129–130, note) 171 points out for West Town and other places, such a lack of significant *tsu* corporate land is very common.

618 474 Because Hsin Hsing village *tsu* groups are relatively small and generally not prosperous, they are limited in their ability to meet all the economic needs of their members or to fulfill the social needs of all the different personality types of the group. The small size of these *tsu* and other patrilineal kinship groups as well as the personality differences between some *ch'in tsu* relatives make it desirable for the cooperative ownership of machines and also cooperative work efforts to extend to non-kin friends and neighbors in the village if work is to be done effectively.

618 857 572 Even a member of a *tsu* group frequently forms close friendships from childhood on with non-*tsu* fellow villagers. For example, friendships through age groups of children and young people are quite common in Hsin Hsing. Children's play groups to a great extent are composed of children of the same sex and age. Because they necessarily live near each other, they are therefore most often relatives. In addition, however, they frequently include children who are neighbors but not kin-related and, as the age of the group increases, also non-kin children who come from other parts of the village. The latter may be schoolmates whose friendships become very deep and last into adulthood.

573 Some of the groups of boys who have been close friends since childhood become sworn brothers (*chieh pai hsiung ti*) in their late teens or early twenties. In doing so, such boys—usually in groups of about five to ten—make an informal pact which is often celebrated by a dinner. In their organization as sworn brothers they agree to help each other, cooperate in many of the ordinary chores of life, and aid each other in any emergency. There are also certain occasions, such as the birth of a child or the death of a parent, when the sworn brothers band together to render assistance above and beyond that expected of ordinary villagers. The membership of such a group for the most part crosses kinship lines, since as some sworn brothers once observed, [618] "There is no point in *tsu* relatives becoming sworn brothers."

571 621 All of these friendships and special relationships, if continued into

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

an examination. Each year many graduates of area primary schools are denied entrance to the middle schools for lack of room. Students are eliminated on the basis of the examination system. Therefore, the choice of which middle school a student will attend frequently depends entirely upon which school admits him.

Regardless of the course of study, most parents hope that a middle school education will enable their son or daughter to secure some kind of minor white-collar job such as clerk in the local government agency. One Hsin Hsing villager struggled financially to send his son to middle school because he felt the boy was a weakling (he was extremely thin and small for his age and wore glasses) and therefore would never be able to farm. The father felt that the only hope for his son was to go on with his schooling so that later he might possibly obtain some kind of minor position with the government. In a few cases, the parents may aspire to a college education for their child.

It is compulsory for all middle school students in Taiwan to join certain school organizations. Boys and girls in junior middle school are members of a youth organization somewhat similar to the American Scouts. Senior middle school students join the Youth Corps, an anti-Communist organization dedicated to retaking the mainland. Boys and girls in all the colleges in Taiwan must also belong to this organization.

By means of the centrally organized Youth Corps, the government is able to give young Taiwanese military, political, and physical preparation against Communist attack. The many after school meetings and outings which members must attend give the government the opportunity to propagandize the young members in anti-communist thought and inculcate in them patriotism towards President Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government in Taiwan. The government has had some success in this effort in the Hsin Hsing area, but elsewhere a great resentment has been built up. The resentment appears to be manifested more by the Taiwanese in the colleges and universities than by the middle school students.

A village middle school student rarely keeps up his earlier close associations with other village children unless they too attend middle school. By the time the students enter senior middle school their childhood contacts are almost forgotten as they join cliques of their classmates; the disruption of old patterns is so sharp that they almost snub their former friends in the village. Their new associates are almost always students from other villages and from the town or city in which the school is located. The association pattern in primary school is quite different. The children from one village tend to stay together, even though the school includes students from other villages.

Not only do these middle school students usually fail to maintain

588 After that he came and got Ong Cui-kim to live with him for a few months, but she didn't like her mother-in-law and came back here frequently. All three of her children were born here and not at his house. The last time she came home she just didn't return. The reason was that her mother-in-law loaned her some gold jewelry to wear to a festival in our village. Then the mother-in-law got to thinking that she might run away with the jewelry, so she hurried down here and took it back. Ong Cui-kim would never go back to their house after that."

589 Of the nine women who clearly did not marry by their thirtieth [132] year one is a deaf mute. Her family has tried to arrange a marriage for her, but have been unable to find anyone willing to accept such [384] a girl as a daughter-in-law. Another case is that of Ong A-chiou who refused to marry her foster brother but remained living with her foster family anyway. As she is a relatively young woman, she may 595 still marry, although she herself thinks this unlikely. A third case • 573 involves a young woman named Ong Chun-mui whose foster parents coerced 589 her into living with a village man who was for a long time the hegemon of a number of village gangs operating in the Hsulin area. Ong Chun-mui herself told us that when this man first approached her she was afraid of him "because he was a well-known gang leader and had many girlfriends, and I was afraid that he would beat me if I did anything he didn't like." But her parents were pleased with the prospect of such an alliance, and eventually asked the man to come and live in their house. As Ong Chun-mui explained, "He could make very good money, and [505] he helped our family a lot. He bought a boat for my father so he could work ferrying people across the river, and during the first year he lived here he spent a lot of money because both my grandmother and grandfather died that year and he paid for their funerals." Despite

595 this inauspicious beginning, the union was apparently as happy as most
593 village marriages. The man was attacked by a rival gang, and when he
589 died from his wounds, Ong Chun-mui was more sincerely upset than the man's own wife. In her words,

> "The first few months after he died I didn't want to go on living. I spent a lot of time then with my foster mother. He was very good to my family, and I lived with him for a long time. I think that this year I will make a tablet and pai-pai to him on Ching Ming Chieh."

[769]

589 Ng Ong-sueq is another village woman who did not marry. Her
595 eldest child was a girl whom she gave away in adoption, and her three younger children are all sons. The eldest of these three boys was born while she was working as a prostitute in Taipei, and the younger boys were both fathered by an elderly man who has kept her as his mistress for nine or ten years. A wealthy man with a wife and several married sons as well as other mistresses, Ng Ong-sueq's benefactor spends most of his nights in Hsiachichou, usually eating his evening meal with Ng Ong-sueq and her parents and children. Ng Ong-sueq's parents provide the rice and vegetables, and their guest brings the meat. He also gives Ng Ong-sueq NT$1500 a month and buys "lots of candy and other things for the children." What worries Ng Ong-sueq is that this man "is very old now and cannot live very much longer, and I will then have to go out and find another man to support me." [842] In order to prepare for this day Ng Ong-sueq has had a hysterectomy "because no man would be willing to spend a lot of money to support so many children." Her hope is that her present support will live long enough to put her children through school, which he has apparently

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

throwing a rice bowl at her, her response was, "Now Mother [i.e., mother-in-law] will think I broke another one." She sings at her work and stops working whenever her mother-in-law goes out the door. She has learned, no doubt painfully, to be cautious in what she says to "outsiders," and her loyalty to the family into which she has married is strong and sincere. She nonetheless joins in with great glee when her mother-in-law stages a carefully timed description of the discrepancies which exist between the two halves of the family.

I can't help but wonder how grim old Lim Han-ci would have reacted to the small terror that is A-bok's son. Although only three years old, he picks fights (and often wins them) with children twice his size. He curses his mother at will, leaving her speechless. His temper is frightening to behold. One night when A-ki was trying to give him a bath, and he was trying to avoid it, he slapped her full in the face and said, "If you touch me, I'll have my father beat you to death." One afternoon he spent half an hour constructing a precarious pile of junk under our office window to provide a comfortable platform from which to observe us. His mother came by and ordered him down. Without even turning, he arrogantly told her, "Go away and don't bother me." There is an undefinable flair to his naughtiness that confuses his mother, makes his dour grandmother smile, and his father laugh outright. Even Lim Chieng-cua watches with amusement when this small boy, stick in hand, orders the whole lot of them off his playing field.

Lim Hue-lieng's youngest son, Masa, is the rebel of the family now, but unlike his father and his older brother there is no strong, compelling male personality in the family to bring his rebellion to a crisis. He hates the smothering life of the big family and the closed society of the village, and more than anything he hates the hard life of a farmer. He once told me that he thought his brother should not have married "because his wife has to work too hard." With complete seriousness he added, "If my girl saw all the work my brother's wife has to do, she would run away and never talk to me again." His earnest desire is to get a white-collar job that will take him out of the village forever, but his age is against him. Until he has completed the compulsory military training which he is still too young to begin, no one will hire him. So he lives in a limbo with the other young men his age, a limbo that seems designed to turn their young energy into trouble. He is the unquestioned leader of a large gang of young men, but

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

instead of turning to the dubious activities of the *lo mua*, they are violent only in defending the good name of their district and chastising in dark alleys any luckless mainland soldiers who force their attentions on "good" Taiwanese girls. Currently, their main activity seems to center on finding places to dance and people to dance with, an illegal activity during this period. Masa is much sought after as a dancing teacher and is reputed to be "the best." He is a romantically handsome boy with a surprising wave in his thick hair, but he does not look like a Lim. He has the charm, the temper, and the leadership potential typical of the rest of the Lims, but he is the only child of Lim Hue-lieng who has no physical resemblance to him. He has instead the short, square, powerful body of his mother, a rounder face and the broad Taiwanese nose.

I neglected to ask the family why he was known by a Japanese nickname, but regardless of the reason the name is appropriate. The image of Japan held by the younger people in the village is a composite of Japanese popular songs, colorful Japanese movies, and soft-drink advertisements picturing pretty Japanese girls with friendly smiles. Masa is one of many village boys who cherish this image as an alternative to the life they know in Peihotien. As the men of his grandfather's generation chaffed under the restrictions of a Japanese colonial government and longed for the return of a Chinese administration that they could not remember, so the young men of today look upon a past they were too young to know, as a time of freedom and plenty. They read the second rate Japanese novels that are banned on Taiwan, and wear with excessive arrogance the humble Japanese *zori* that the Chinese government foolishly attempted to ban (and has since started manufacturing themselves). Nearly all of these young people have stop-gap jobs of one sort or another which bring them a little spending money but nothing that suggests a beginning in adult life. They simply wait, passing the time as pleasantly as they can. Masa and several others his age participate in the village band that marches in all religious processions, but the religion itself they scorn. Few Taiwanese take religion with the earnest seriousness that Westerners demand, but the young men of Masa's group (and that does not include all the young people of the village) laugh at the shamans, regard the priests in the temples as cynical men who have found a soft job, and ancestor worship as a tradition that must be carried on only for the pleasure it gives the old people in the family.

123 609 Full acceptance is never possible. An American of European descent must accept the fact he will always be considered a rich, highly educated, kao pi tzu (big nose or Westerner). There are various clues to evaluate your 123 level of acceptance. Your relative status may be assessed by where you are assigned to sit at a dinner in some- 609 554 574 one's house for locations at the table are ranked in order 584 of importance. At a big festival such as a wedding for which there are many tables, relative importance is also assigned to different tables. For example, although the groom goes from table to table toasting the guests and being toasted in turn, he starts with the most important table and ends with the least. At the start of our study, we were the most prestigious guests at every function, even ranking above the mayor of the large nearby town of Hsin Tien. As time passed, we moved down the tables in rank position, joining the richer villagers but sitting below local village officials. At the last wedding, my wife sat at the lowest ranking regular table in the kitchen with the women in the immediate family since one woman in the family was one of her closest friends in the village and I sat at the third-ranking table with my 123 "sworn brothers." Three months before I left, I had a [573] achieved a high level of acceptance by becoming a member of a chieh pai hsuing ti[5] (sworn brothers association). [601] A final key may be found in the term of address which

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independence and thereby, elevate their status and security.

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Money-lending clubs are extremely popular in Sanlei and about six or seven are in process at any moment in time. The participants are drawn from about two thirds of the households; some households contain more than two participants, i.e., the man participating as a household head and his wife participating with her personal money. Some men belong to several clubs simultaneously, but women usually belong to only one at a time. In one case, Liao Chi-hsing, a farmer at the middle level of income in the community, belonged to four simultaneously at a cost of over $1,000.00 monthly.

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With their inter-locking memberships, money-lending clubs are a unifying force in the village. Both males and females participate in the same clubs and either sex may be a club originator. This is one of the few village organizations in which both sexes formally participate

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competitively as relative equals. However, because of other kinds of values, a husband and his wife do not participate in the same club.

Chieh Pai Hsiung Ti (Sworn Brothers Association)

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A sworn brothers association is a pseudo-kinship group of males who are friends and age mates, i.e., within an age span of two to four years. Each association is formed by a group of twenty or so young men when they are between the ages of 17 and 24. Rarely do the members live more than one or two villages apart at the time the

• 573 association is founded. An association continues in exis-
561 tence until the death of the last member although the occasional participant moves away and drops out or just disappears. At the inauguration, the group members are fairly equal in social class and economic position. In spite of the later upward and downward mobility of its members, a group continues to act. Fellow members orginally are only friends or are linked through certain kinship relationships, i.e., cousins are often fellow members but real brothers rarely belong to the same association.

At any given moment in time, an examination of the details about members of a single association easily yields data on life expectancy, social mobility, and migration rates. The information is readily available because a roster of membership is made at the inception of the club. Since the members are friends, many details of each other's socio-economic situation are known and because the club continues to function and meet collectively once or twice each year, such information is kept current. I will illustrate briefly with two clubs.

[776] One association which is associated with the god Tai Tzu Yueh (See Below) was formed around 1941 by 18 young men who were all within a year or two of age 23. At the time the association was formed, all but one of the founders lived in Talei Li (the exception had formerly lived in the li but had migrated with his family to Hsin

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

561 Tien). All 18 had gone to the Japanese school in Pouti
573 together and a few had gone on to junior or senior high school. It appears that the group came from li families which were wealthier than the average for the li.

By 1966, 15 of the members were still alive and although only 9 continued to live in Talei Li, all 15 still come together at least twice yearly for a meeting. Two men are only farm laborers, three became fairly wealthy, and the rest are in the middle or lower upper level of income (based on Sanlei standards). One man, a son of a fairly wealthy T'oulei family, is a dentist in Hsin Tien and is very active in township politics. Of the six who no longer live in Talei Li, one lives in Keelung and has something to do with tea exporting; one lives near Taichung where he inherited some land from his father's brother; one lives in Hsin Tien (the dentist); and the other three all live in Taipei city, two work in a meat-canning factory and the last is a partner in a very small restaurant.

The second example was founded by twelve young men living in Sanlei and Tzulei just before they reached draft age. In its eight years of existence, all twelve boys completed their military stint, and seven have subsequently [744] migrated to Taipei City. The association meets twice yearly, once during the Matsu Procession (See Chapter VII) when almost all migrants return to the village for the celebration. Some of the club members who live in Taipei

561 claim they will come back to take over the family farm
573 when the older generation is no longer capable but others say they will never live in a village again because the city is so much more interesting.

561 The associations fulfill a number of functions in
573 the community. For one, they are a fellowship unit. Most
574 units get together once or twice a year for a dinner at a site which rotates among the homes of the members. The party lasts several hours and usually features consumption of great quantities of food and alcohol plus the usual drinking games and joking behavior. The host provides the food and drink but each gueat contributes an amount of cash which is determined by the current value of pok as a hedge against inflation. For example, a typical contribution would be the sum required to buy two chin of pork. The party itself has an integrating effect for the unit.

561 A second function is as a mutual insurance associ-
573 ation. Members contributed at fixed rates for certain
456 events affecting fellow members although the terms vary for each group, established at the time it is founded. A list of a set of contributions for one association which is somewhat more elaborate than most follows (one chin equals 1-1/3 pounds):

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2 chin pork	Birth of Son
2 chin pork*	Marriage of Member
2 chin pork	Death of Father
1 chin pork	Death of Mother
5 chin pork	Death of Member

*Plus attendance fee at wedding

[771] Any member who has a son between meetings brings turtle-dough cakes to the next meeting to distribute as consumption of turtle-dough cakes helps spread good fortune. For any member of a club, those life crises events which usually cost money are supported by fellow members.

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573 Another function is religious for worship is always part of the activities of an association meeting. Most units are organized around a particular god with whom the association establishes a special relationship. The host for the next meeting keeps the statue of the association god (which the association usually purchases) between meetings and he is responsible for the required special regular worship activities dedicated to it. The statue stays on the ancestral table in his kung t'ing until after the meeting when it will be carried to the next host's home. Also, the association may participate as a unit sponsoring part of the activities on special religious holidays or may act to refurbish the temple. One big "Fire Purification Ceremony"[1] was originated and sponsored by three cooperating sworn brothers associations.

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[626] The unit also functions in social control. At times it has disciplined transgressors: association members mildly threaten young men who have been too

573 561 627 [626] unfilial or frighten older men with threats of physical violence. The threats have always been sufficient to insure proper behavior. In periods of the year when there is high probability of stealing such as near New Year's Day, or after a theft has occurred, various associations have taken responsibility for a night patrol in the village. Thieves from outside the li were caught twice in the last three years and were severely thrashed before turning them over to the police. The unit also supports its members in conflict or adversity. Political support for a fellow member is near automatic and it is significant that most local leaders have connections with the larger kinship units discussed in the last chapter and are also members of fairly large sworn brothers associations. Local political leaders attempt to enlist association support and several usually make courtesy calls long enough for a quick drink and snack at various association meetings.

561 573 There are few village men who fail to join a sworn brothers association as young men. A few groups have added members later in their existence although most stick to the original membership roster. A migrant to the area may establish good relations and be invited to join an ongoing group whose members are his approximate age. [562] There are many similar clubs all over the area near Hsin Tien but there is no structural equivalent for women.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

Social Effects of Men's Voluntary Associations

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Some manifest social effects of men's voluntary associations were already pointed out, i.e., fellowship, insurance, social control, religious, etc., but there are latent effects which are also important.

As previously stated, the village is a prime unit for personal identification and the values associated with membership in a village social unit would tend towards extreme isolation of the community from the rest of society. However, a peasant community, by definition and by fact, is part of a larger society and cannot be an isolate. In addition to the establishment of relationship across community boundaries on the basis of kinship (agnatic and affinal), men's voluntary associations serve an identical linking mechanism.

In any society such as China in which kinship is an important organizing principle, some men have few or no kinsmen because biology is a significant, if not exclusive, determinant of many kinship relations. That is, some people are barren and some family lines do not prosper. Sworn brothers associations provide an acceptable cultural alternative to the relatively kinless man who might be otherwise isolated. The very name itself (sworn brothers) evokes recognition of its basis as a simulated kinship group.

Finally, the individual member gains emotional support from his membership. Although most social

182 relationships in China are hierarchically structured, i.e.,
515 landlord over tenant, elder over younger, father over son,
573 etc., sworn brothers associations are a collectivity of equals. Even where there are great differences in status, the differences are relatively buried for interpersonal relationships, especially at association meetings. Since it would probably be impossible to bury a father-son or older brother-younger brother status difference, these two types of relationships are never encompassed within a single sworn brothers association.

Because of these various reasons, manifest and latent, almost every man belongs to a sworn brothers association but no man belongs to two. Fewer men belong to god's associations which are not exclusive, i.e., a man may belong to more than one (most members of a single god's association also belong to a sworn brothers association). Indeed, one politician in Hsin Tien belongs to six god's associations including both of those centered in Sanlei Ts'un.

Neighborhood

361 The village is informally divided into three neighborhoods although the physical boundaries separating them are but minor barriers. One barrier results from the fact the village slopes up a hill while a small mountain runs down towards the village at right angles to the slope. A very small brook (18" wide) runs down the mountain towards the village as if it were going to bisect

625 participant receives $4.00 to purchase noodles. As
435 stated previously, sworn brothers associations sometimes
573 mount the patrol in other periods on their own initiative as a community service without any contributions.

Once a month, the I Ching go to the police station in Pouti for training conducted by the policeman assigned to the li with the help of other officers in the station. Occasionally, a high ranking officer from Hsin Tien comes in to give a pep talk. The efficiency of the force and the degree of assistance obtained is purely dependent on the kind of relationship the policeman is able to establish with villagers. Although considerable force and power is his by virtue of his office, villagers can make his job relatively easy or very difficult. The previous policeman had been stationed in Sanlei for many years and
648 had excellent relations with villagers. Most police are Mainlanders, one of whom was assigned shortly after our study began. Since he only spoke a few words of Taiwanese and those with an accent, he was having a
191 difficult time. Many villagers speak no Mandarin and several that know some Mandarin refuse to speak it.

434 If a thief is captured, the I Ching on duty get a reward of $120.00 each (more than two days regular pay) and the policeman in charge of the li gets a citation of merit. One third of the reward comes from the donations, one third from the police station in Hsin Tien, and one third from the main police station in

783 that come, the more powerful the gods in the temple are
796 assumed to be. Part of the reason for the ceremony in
776 Sanlei was a desire to raise the status of the temple for once raised, it is possible but not probable that the higher rank will be maintained. If miracles occur more people will come, and as stated, the major key to assessing rank is the number of worshippers.

783 There are two forms of the "Fire Purification Cere-
796 mony." The first concludes the whole process on a single occasion which may take one or more consecutive days. The second form requires two nearly similar processes some years apart although each part may take more than one day. The ceremony to be discussed in this section was the last half of the two-part ceremony, entitled the "tail." The first part, the "head," was held just under two years previously.

783 The "head" was originated, planned, and conducted
796 by three cooperating sworn brothers associations. These
* 513 three associations consisted of all younger men (maximum
621 age 35) and most of them were part of the progressive faction politically. They paid most of the costs themselves but did accept donations from wealthier villagers. Although almost everyone in the village eventually participated in the ceremony itself, this was the first major affair ever held in Sanlei that was not supported by the usual assessment procedure and temple committee and many

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796 people therefore felt that the ceremony was not really
573 theirs. One sworn brother explained that he got the idea
621 and started the whole process because of a ceremony he attended at a village near Hsin Tien.

The three sworn brothers associations had originally
[624] planned to conduct the "tail" in the same manner. However, after many discussions over a period of time lasting nearly a year, it was decided to handle it in nearly the same manner as most ceremonies except that the committee would not only include a pot master and an assistant from each of the six lin, but one assistant from each of the
[787] three sworn brothers associations. One of the ten com-
[562] mittee members was a female, selected by the gods in the usual way by casting the shen pei.

783 In the meantime, the temple committee for the Erhlei
796 temple, the temple which actually encompassed all Talei Li,
794 decided they could not let the Sanlei temple get too far
632 ahead because the li temple was supposedly higher in rank. They therefore planned a "Fire Purification Ceremony" of their own. It would be a much more elaborate one-occasion type falling between the Sanlei "head" and "tail" ceremonies.

621 The first task of the Sanlei committee was to select
632 a date. This was not an easy task for the date had to be
783 auspicious, not too close to other religious holidays, not
794 too close to the li Fire Purification Ceremony, and during
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783 sporadically all during the day. After each character was
796 written, the sand was smoothed out again in preparation
787 for the next. These characters were all special spirit writing, direct communications from the gods which only the shaman is able to read and interpret. The statements may be criticism or praise of specific villagers or general information. Eventually, one character would proclaim when the fire for the walk should be started.

783 After about four hours, around 11:00, everyone quit
796 for lunch. It is possible that the gods could call for the fire within a very few minutes after the ceremony started, but no ceremony in memory however, had ever started before the first day's lunch break. Lunch was much more elaborate than usual and there were many guests in attendance. Outsiders had been arriving all day during the morning to observe the men running in the fields and to
[602] become guests for lunch. Few villagers did any regular
[573] work that day; even much of the cooking was performed by
[628] outsiders such as ch'in ch'i (affinal relatives) or sworn brothers from other villages who worked without pay. In turn, Sanlei would provide cooks for ceremonies, funerals, and weddings in other villages. Four sworn brother associations gathered for an extra lunch together. Politicians from Hsin Tien and the county visited each of the
[66] associations in turn for a few minutes and also visited the lunches hosted by the more important people.